

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1416

INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 8633

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK, AF

SUBJ: GOP VIEWS OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS

SUMMARY: ACCORDING MFA DIRGEN FOR MIDDLE EAST, AFGHAN CHARGES OF PAK COMPLICITY IN ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP ARE COMPLETELY FALSE. DESPITE ITS MISGIVINGS OVER DAUD, GOP HAS GONE OUT OF ITS WAY TO REFRAIN FROM INTERFERENCE IN AFGHAN AFFAIRS AND HAS TAKEN NUMBER OF TANGIBLE STEPS TO EXTEND HAND OF FRIENDSHIP TO DAUD. PAKS SEE ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP AS POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN DAUD REGIME, WITH YOUNG RADICALS APPARENTLY WINNING OUT OVER "MODERATE-MAIWANDWAL FACTION. PAKS INCREASINGLY FED UP WITH AFGHAN EFFORTS PORTRAY WALI KHAN AS CHAMPION OF PAKISTAN'S PUSHTUN POPULATION, POINTING OUT THAT PRESENT PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN PESHAWAR IS EVERY BIT AS FULLY PUSHTUN IN MAKEUP AS WALI'S FACTION. PAKS ARE AWAITING PUBLICATION IN KABUL OF MAIWANDWAL'S PERSONAL PAPERS, WHICH THEY EXPECT WILL BE DOCTORED TO "PROVE" GOP COMPLICITY IN

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COUNTER-COUP. END SUMMARY.

1. POL COUNSELLOR CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRGEN FOR MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS, MANSUR AHMAD, OCTOBER 4 TO DISCUSS CURRENT STATE PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

2. MANSUR AHMAD EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN KABUL AND SAID HE WAS SOMEWHAT PUZZLED AS TO JUST WHAT WAS ACTUALLY TAKING PLACE. HE QUITE NATURALLY DENIED CATEGORICALLY AFGHAN CHARGES OF PAK COMPLICITY IN ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP, SAYING THAT PAKS HAD TAKEN SPECIAL PAINS SINCE DAUD'S COUP TO AVOID EITHER SUBSTANCE OR APPEARANCE OF MEDDLING IN AFGHAN AFFAIRS.

3. GOP WAS NOT, OF COURSE, PARTICULARLY HAPPY WHEN DAUD FIRST SEIZED POWER, MANSUR AHMAD CONTINUED, RECALLING HIS ANTI-PAKISTAN EXCESSES WHEN LAST IN OFFICE. AFTER SOME DELIBERATION, HOWEVER, GOP TOOK CONSCIOUS DECISION TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT GET ALONG WITH DAUD IN HOPES HE WOULD RECIPROCATATE BY FOLLOWING MORE MODERATE COURSE TOWARD PAKISTAN. IMMEDIATELY AFTER DAUD TOOK POWER, PRIMIN BHUTTO HAD SENT FIRST OF SERIES OF MESSAGES TO HIM AFFIRMING GOP DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY TIES. GOP HAD ALSO UNDERTAKEN NUMBER OF TANGIBLE MOVES TO DEMONSTRATE PAK DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP: FOR EXAMPLE, PAKS HAD PERMITTED AFGHAN/INDIA TRANSIT TRADE IN FRUIT TO CONTINUE UNHAMPERED AND HAD EVEN READJUSTED BORDER SHCEDULES SO THAT IT WOULD NOT BE DISRUPTED BY CURRENT POW REPATRIATION FROM INDIA. FURTHERMORE, EVEN DURING PERIOD WHEN RAIL TRAFFIC BETWEEN KARACHI AND REST OF COUNTRY WAS SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED BY FLOODS, GOP HAD MADE SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS TO PERMIT TRANSIT TRAFFIC TO AFGHANISTAN TO CONTINUE.

4. AS TO CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN KABUL, MANSUR AHMAD SAID, GOP INFORMATION WAS SKETCHY. HIS TENTATIVE ASSESSMENT WAS THAT ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP PROBABLY REFLECTED POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN DAUD ADMINISTRATION BETWEEN RADICAL YOUNG OFFICER GROUP AND "MORE MODERATE ELEMENT" CENTERING ON MAIWANDWAL, KHAN MOHAMMAD AND GENERAL KAZAK, WITH LATTER LOSING OUT. DIRGEN SUGGESTED, ALTHOUGH NOT VERY FORCEFULLY, THAT SOVIETS MAY HAVE HAD HAND IN OVERTHROWING MODERATE
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FACTION. ALL IN ALL, HE CONCLUDED, ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP POINTED BOTH TO CONTINUED INSECURITY OF DAUD'S GRIP ON COUNTRY AND TO POSSIBLE TREND TOWARD INCREASING RADICALIZATION OF REGIME.

5. IN RESPONSE QUESTION FROM POL COUSELLOR, MANSUR AHMAD SAID THAT PAKS HAD DETECTED SOME INCREASE IN MOVEMENT OF TRIBAL PEOPLE ACROSS PAK/AFGHAN BORDER SINCE DAUD TOOK

POWER. TO BEST HIS KNOWLEDGE, HOWEVAR, THERE HAD NOT YET BEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN AFGHAN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES ON PAK SIDE OF BORDER TO MATCH LEVEL OF AFGHAN INVECTIVE.

6. DESPITE CONTINUED PAK EFFORTS TO AVOID FURTHER DETERIORATION RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN, MANSUR AHMAD CONTINUED, PAKS FOUND IT INCREASINGLY HARDER TO COUNTENANCE DAUD REGIME'S CONTINUED HARPING ON PUSHTUNISTAN. KABUL WAS BUSILY TRYING TO PAINT COMPLETELY FALSE PICTURE OF SITUATION IN AREAS OF PAKISTAN INHABITED BY PUSHTUNS, PORTRAYING WALI KHAN AS CHAMPION OF PUSHTUN PEOPLE AGAINST PUNJABI DOMINATION. THIS WAS SHEER NONSENSE, DIRGEN ASSERTED. WALI KHAN RECEIVED TWENTY-ODD PERCENT OF NFFP VOTE IN 1970 ELECTIONS; COALITION PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT THAT HIS PARTY SUBSEQUENTLY FORMED WITH JUI WAS LEGALLY OVERTURNED LAST SPRING WHEN IT LOST MAJORITY IN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY; AND IT HAS BEEN REPLACED BY ANOTHER LEOTOOY CONSTITUTED GOVERNMENT COMPOSED ENTIRELY OF PUSHTUNS. IF KABUL WAS SO COMMITTED TO AUTONOMY FOR PUSHTUNS IN PAKISTAN, DIRGEN ASKED, WHY WAS GOA DENIGRATING RATHER THAN SUPPORTING THE ALL-PUSHTUN LEGAL GOVERNMENT IN PESHAWAR AND ATTEMPTING THROUGH WALI KHAN TO STIR UP ANIMOSITY BETWEEN PUSHTUNS AND PUNJABIS?

7. WITH REGARD SITUATION IN BALUCHISTAN, DIRGEN SAID ONLY THAT IT WAS "EXCEEDINGLY COMPLEX" BUT NO BUSINESS WHATSOEVER OF DUAD REGIME.

8. ASKED ABOUT SITUATION OF PAK EMBASSY PERSONNEL AND OTHER PAKISTANIS RESIDING IN AFGHANISTAN, MANSUR AHMAD SAID THAT EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE UNDER INTENSIVE SURVEILLANCE BUT HAD NOT YET BEEN SERIOUSLY HARRASSED. THERE WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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ONLY FEW HUNDRED PERMANENT PAK RESIDENTS IN AFGHANISTAN APART FROM TRIBAL NOMADS, AND HE KNEW OF NO PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES THEY WERE ENCOUNTERING.

9. CONCLUDING, DIREGN NOTED THAT AFGHAN PRESS HAD ANNOUNCED ON OCTOBER 2 THAT MAIWANDWAL'S PERSONAL PAPERS, BILLED AS CONCLUSIVELY PROVING HIS GUILT AND PAK INVOLVEMENT IN ALLEGED COUNTER-COUP, WERE ABOUT TO BE PUBLISHED. WHATEVER THEY TURNED OUT TO CONTAIN, HE SAID, THEY COULD "PROVE" GOP COMPLICITY ONLY THROUGH FORGERY, BECUASE THERE WASN'T ANY.
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